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The Emperor sympathized with him in his efforts to emancipate the educational institutions of his country from mediævalism and expand them to the needs of the times. That was the bond of union between them and, politically speaking, the only one. Duruy is not believed to have advised or directly countenanced any of the repressive measures which the Emperor deemed necessary for the perpetuation of his power and dynasty. He managed, however, under all the gravest disadvantages, greatly to improve the educational system of France, and it is safe to say that he was the only counsellor of the Emperor from whom such results could have been expected; for it was not in that direction that the prizes of politics in France in those day were supposed to lie.

JOHN BIGELOW.

The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., Dean of Winchester. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1895. Two vols., pp. 435, 499.)

FREEMAN's life was uneventful, but is well worthy of a literary memorial. This has been prepared at the request of the Freeman family, by W. R. W. Stephens, Dean of Winchester, the biographer of Dean Hook. The two volumes devoted to Freeman's *Life and Letters* are attractive, readable, and well edited, but very inadequately indexed. The plan of the author is to describe, in an orderly way, Freeman's early life and course of education; his interest in history, architecture, and foreign politics; his pleasant home-life amid country surroundings; his literary, journalistic, and archæological work; his academic and political ambitions; his travels on the continent and his visit to America; his work at Oxford; his winters in Sicily and his fatal journey to Spain. These and many other subjects are rapidly sketched by the biographer and are illustrated in detail by copious extracts from Freeman's letters conveniently grouped by periods. The editor has wisely preserved Freeman's characteristic method of redating his letters when suddenly broken off, and, while venturing some conjectural interpretations and emendations of manuscript, has on the whole adhered closely to Freeman's own views of editorial duty towards dead authors. On this point Freeman thus expressed himself in a letter to Dean Stephens:—

“I have a very strong view about the way of publishing a dead writer's book. Setting aside a spelling-book, a law-book, a book of geometry, where matter is everything and form nothing, I hold that the author's text should appear as he left it. You may work in any corrections or additions (in brackets) that he made himself, but no corrections, no improvements, of any editor. Anything that is positively wrong may of course be pointed out in a note. I would not let editorial work go further. The book should be the record of its own author's mind alike in its strength and in its weakness.”

Dean Stephens has refrained from correcting Freeman's bad German, but often calls attention in footnotes to misquotations and an occasional

confusion of classical names or words. Freeman was very fond of interlarding his letters with Greek phrases, chiefly of his own coining. Like St. Paul and the evangelists, he quoted very loosely from ancient literature. This habit was as characteristic of Freeman as blunders in geography were natural to Froude.

Freeman appears to good advantage in his patchwork letters. He would appear better if he had always remained true to his principle of spinning his yarn in plain English. Cardinal Newman thought the true life of a man is best seen in his correspondence. This is certainly the case with Freeman. His letters are himself, with all his strength and all his weakness. He was, among his many virtues and limitations, friendly, good-humored, bluff, hearty, honest, frank, manly, fond of children, kind to animals, energetic, hopeful, courageous, laborious, untiring, much-enduring, much-afflicted with cough and gout, needing care and sympathy, craving human companionship, sensitive, shy, proud, fretful, wayward, grumbling, growling, bellowing,—in short, a typical John Bull. He loved his friends and hated his enemies. Doubtless he overrated the merits of the one and exaggerated the faults of the other. Those who knew him best liked him. His faults were on the surface. Beneath his shaggy leonine exterior lay a warm heart and a tender sympathy for man and beast. He made all Englishmen howl with fury when he attacked fox-hunting, bird-shooting, and field-sports (see *Fortnightly Review*, October, 1869, and May, 1874), but he got the best of Mr. Anthony Trollope in the controversy. Freeman was opposed to deer-stalking and bull-baiting, but he liked nothing better than “Froude-smiting” and “making mince-meat” of Professor Seeley. He never wearied of smiting “fore and aft, hip and thigh,” all Turks and Jews, also Francis Joseph, Louis Napoleon, and Lord Beaconsfield; but he was capable of raising, by personal letters and appeals, \$25,000 for the relief of suffering in the Danube provinces. Dean Hook once reproached Freeman for being too severe in some of his book reviews. Freeman replied that he did not blame some men for being fools, which they could not help, but for writing books, which they could help. Freeman liked Dean Hook for his plain speaking, and once said of Miss Edith Thompson and the late J. R. Green: “I believe I love her and Johnny more than most people, because they bully me the most.”

Freeman's habits of work were very systematic. Unlike Macaulay, he usually carried on several lines of literary composition at the same time; but he mapped out his studies and arranged his materials upon different tables and in different rooms, so that there was no confusion, at least for him. Every day he drew up a time-table of proposed work and allotted to each subject its due proportion of hours. If in any case he exceeded the allowance, he would make a memorandum like this: “Big Sicily owes Little Sicily three-quarters of an hour.” This debt, from his *magnum opus* to the volume now published in Putnam's series called “Story of the Nations,” the historian would conscientiously discharge. Freeman's journal was not like Amiel's, full of meditations and speculations; it was a terse record of things done, read, or written.

Freeman was an early riser, and began his daily work before breakfast. Afterwards he took a little walk in his garden and then worked straight on till dinner, which, at his country home, was always early. The afternoon he devoted to recreation. Horseback riding and walking were his favorite modes of exercise. He was fond of having congenial company at "Somerleaze," where he settled in 1860; but when a dancing party or parlor theatricals threatened his domestic peace, he started off upon an archæological expedition. Antiquarians and other sympathetic visitors he would take on a stroll through the woods, back of his house, to the open top of a hill called Ben Knoll, where he believed the tide of West Saxon invasion was once checked, and where there is a view of remarkable beauty and historic interest. Like Petrarch, Freeman was generally averse to climbing mountains merely for an outlook or for exercise. For an historical purpose he would do anything, climb, or cross seas, anything except delving in libraries and archives not his own. Freeman delighted in exploring and sketching, in walking and talking, and in sitting under his own elm and cedar. He enjoyed letter-writing to personal friends, and usually found an hour before supper for cultivating society on paper. Apparently he would begin, at one time, letters to several different people, write to each a page or more, break off abruptly (perhaps in the middle of a word), and go on again when he felt like telephoning a brief message to somebody or other. His tables and floors were literally covered with unfinished letters. He seems to have kept his friends around him, like his books, and his children.

When Freeman came out to America he said there were two things that he wanted especially to see,—a town meeting and a negro baby. For some reason, probably climatic, colored babies were not on exhibition in Baltimore on those streets which Mr. Freeman happened to traverse, and he professed to be greatly disappointed. To console him in some degree, I took him one Sunday evening, with his wife, to see two types of negro meetings, or, as he called them in one of his letters (II. 242), "Black Methodists," and "Black Episcopalians." He became so interested in the singing and preaching at the Orchard Street Methodist Church that I could scarcely drag him away. The colored minister's text was from Genesis 49:10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come." There was so much Jewish history in the discourse that Freeman was greatly astonished. "Hear the black fellow," he said. "He is talking about the Sanhedrim." When the Methodist temple grew too hot we adjourned to the "Black Episcopalians," whose black choir in white surplices looked very droll to Freeman.

It appears from a letter to Stubbs that Freeman occasionally, in his own parish church, "put on an ephod," as he called it, and read part of the service. Freeman was something of a High Churchman, and was early versed in ritualistic matters. He thought "High Mass the finest thing in the world" (I. 245). While in warm sympathy with historical Christianity and with the Church of England, he hated theology and absolutely refused to be bound by religious dogmas. He had liberal views regarding the Bible

and the higher criticism. To Dean Hook he wrote in 1866: "I hold — and I see nothing in our formularies to hinder me from holding — that a great part of the early Hebrew history, as of all other early history, is simply legendary. I never read any German books on those matters at all, but came to the conclusion simply from the analogies supplied by my own historical studies." He wrote to his Catholic friend, Bishop Patterson: "It certainly does not seem to me that belief in Christianity at all binds one to the letter of the Old Testament, perhaps not of the New either. I fancy, somehow, that *you* are not nearly so tied to the letter as our people are — certainly the old people before the Council of Trent were not" (II. 390). In the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1889, Freeman attempted, in an article on "Christianity and the Geocentric System," to defend the historic faith from certain attacks by critics who thought Christianity could not be true because the world is so small and travels around the sun. Freeman answered the critics from the text in 1 Corinthians, 26–28, which he thought explained "the whole course of history better than anything else."

Freeman's jokes were often mediæval if not classical in their antiquity. "People had some fun in the eleventh century," he said, "or I should lead a poor life of it — see Osbern's letter to Anselm" (see *Reign of William Rufus*, I. 374, and II., Appendix Y, for further particulars). Fancy Freeman in Virginia going back to the Norman Conquest in order to make a joke about Virginia mud and his son's title to an old plantation. In a letter to me from "Rapid Ann Depot," Culpeper County, December 25, 1881, the old historian said: "I want to make a Virginia Domesday: it would fall so naturally into the old forms. *Freeman tenet; Bell tenuit Tempore Ante Guerram. Valebat . . . dollarios; modo . . . Waste fuit.* And in all cases we might add *Potuit ire quo voluit cum ista terra*, for the soil of the old Dominion sticketh to the boots and is carried about hither and thither." The church at Rapidan he found a poor concern. He said the pews made him better understand the saying of the psalmist (49: 5): "When the wickedness of my heels compasseth me round about"; for there was no possible way of kneeling, "save by altogether turning one's nose the wrong way."

The personal appearance of Freeman was well described in a piece of word-painting attributed by him to a Virginia blacksmith at Rapidan, who said of the historical humorist: "He is a jolly, sturdy-looking old buck." Four good portraits of Freeman are given in Dean Stephens' volumes. The first represents him, in the days of his fellowship at Oxford, as a ruddy youth, about twenty-four years of age, with side whiskers, curly hair, starched shirt, standing collar, and a fancy vest, — altogether a dapper and well-groomed university man. The second is a characteristic and amusing sketch of the historian of the Norman Conquest with a bushy beard, at the age of fifty-three, in a baggy suit of clothes, hat on, hands behind him grasping a stout umbrella; he is attending an archæological meeting at Usk Castle in Monmouthshire. The third portrait is an excellent likeness, from a photograph taken at Oxford, probably about the time

of his return in 1884 as Regius Professor of Modern History. The fourth shows him, long-bearded and very gray, at work in his Oxford study, 16 St. Giles, at the age of sixty-eight, only about four months before his death. He is sitting at a large table, which is covered with manuscripts and books.

HERBERT B. ADAMS.

A History of Slavery and Serfdom. By JOHN KELLS INGRAM, LL.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; President of the Royal Irish Academy. (New York: Macmillan and Co. 1895. Pp. xiv, 285.)

MR. INGRAM'S history of slavery and serfdom is his article on "Slavery," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, made by additions and the attractive print of a Black publication into a book of nearly 300 pages. His aim is to present such general knowledge of the subject as all well-educated persons should have. He describes briefly the slavery of Greece and Rome, then the change in Europe from slavery to the serfdom of the Middle Ages, and then the change, ending only in our own time, from serfdom to free labor, to personal independence. All this he treats as one great social movement, whose beginning was the enslavement instead of the slaughter of captives in war, a distinct advance in civilization, and whose slow steps upward then came about by the possibility of the absorption of slaves and serfs into the general popular body. To this is added a survey of the growth and abolition of negro slavery in America, and of the present condition of slavery in Africa and the East.

Although Mr. Ingram aims to give a complete account of slavery and serfdom in modern as well as ancient times, and does give in considerable detail the condition of the slave in Greece and Rome and of the later serf, we find no description of what African slavery in the West really was at the time when the long contest over abolition was going on. Viewing that slavery of modern times as no natural outgrowth of previous social conditions, but as politically, as well as morally, a monstrous aberration, he passes on to its abolition. At the close of his brief account of abolition in the United States—covering only twenty pages—he states that it is difficult to believe that the position of the negroes of America is finally determined; that the indelible mark of color must, apparently, keep the races apart and prevent a close degree of unity in the population; and that it is not easy to believe in the perpetual, peaceful co-existence, in a modern republican and industrial state, of a dominant and a subject caste, possessing the same political rights. Also, he quotes not only Jefferson's strong denunciation of slavery,—strong enough to suit an abolitionist of 1850,—but Jefferson's equally strong conviction that the Anglo-Saxon and the African races, equally free, could not live in the same government. But he evidently attributes this state of things chiefly to the mistaken ideas of the Southern whites—to the "contemptuous and exclusive feeling"